Human Events THE WASHINGTON NEWSLETTER

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Election Probe: Republicans on Capitol Hill are now demanding an investigation of "wild spending" in election primaries, in view of charges that Kennedy forces have been guilty of dispensing massive funds in Wisconsin and West Virginia. The latter primary has become a matter of wry jests in Washington, such as, "The Kennedy family took a long last fond look at West Virginia, saying: 'There's gold in them there hills. We know, we put it there.'" (From Fletcher Knebel's syndicated column from the Capital.)

Furthermore, Senator Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.) has accused Kennedy of "trying to buy the White House." Morse conceded that Kennedy might be nominated and he would support his election campaign, but "I'll hold my nose and campaign for him."

On the other hand, Kennedy himself has claimed that Nixon sent excessive funds into Indiana for its primary May 10, allegedly $150,000. Republican friends of Nixon say that the Vice President would be happy to have a probe of the Nixon primary spending, adding that actually the V-P had sent only $25,000 to the Hoosier test.

During the West Virginia campaign, HUMAN EVENTS dispatched one of its staff to the Mountain State. After the battle he had the following (among other things) to report on Kennedy spending:

(1) The Kennedy forces had a program for making a telephone call to every single home with a phone in the state. The phone call not only urged the listener to vote for Kennedy, but also offered to provide transportation to the polls. Our reporter estimated that the Kennedy forces did contact about half of all phone users in the state.

(2) *According to our reporter's finds, the Kennedy forces spent at least* $193,500 *on hotel rooms, air transportation, auto costs, telephone, polls, entertainment, newspaper advertising, radio advertising and live time, TV time and film production, printing and payroll, etc. This does not include estimates of Kennedy contributions to local and county Democratic organizations.*

All in Washington agree that, while the West Virginia primary resulted in a splendid defeat of the forces of bigotry, nevertheless the contest left much to be desired from the standpoint of free and financially uninfluenced elections. Estimates of Kennedy financial help to local Democratic bosses boost the total spending to over three quarters of a million dollars—some say a full million. On the back page of this section, HUMAN EVENTS runs a piece reprinted from the Baltimore *Sun* describing how this costly primary was run.

In view of all these estimates and charges, GOP people on Capitol Hill want the Senate to assert its long-standing right to review cases of excessive spending. In this century, the Senate twice refused to seat Senators-elect after probes established excessive spending—William S. Vare of Pennsylvania and Frank L. Smith of Illinois were denied their seats in the Upper House, and another, Truman Newberry of Michigan, resigned under fire.

These were elections. But the Senate did not shrink from delving into primary campaigns marked by undue spending. In the spring of 1920, Senator Hiram Johnson of California got a probe under way by a subcommittee of the Committee on Privileges and Elections which had a profound effect on the election that year. The Committee investigated wild spending by Governor Frank Lowden and General Leonard Wood, both front-running candidates for the GOP nomination that year. Details of bribery and vast slush funds were so shocking that both Wood and Lowden were rejected by the GOP convention that year. A million-dollar slush fund from New York for Wood, and instances of buying two convention delegates at $2500 a head by Lowden forces, were features of the investigation.

It is difficult to see how Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson can reject the plea today for a full investigation of this year's primaries.

Inside Story: According to reliable sources, the wily Macmillan almost put over an appeasement proposal on Ike to continue the Summit after Khrushchev's ultimatum. Khrushchev demanded that the US apologize, promise to renounce U-2 flights and punish those responsible. Macmillan got Khrushchev to agree to a compromise—to drop the third point about punishment. The Briton argued that it was ridiculous, that Ike was the one responsible and that Ike could not punish himself. Khrushchev agreed and Macmillan went to Ike. He had Ike persuaded when State Department aides said "no," that this course would only embolden Khrushchev to demand other humiliating concessions, on Berlin, for instance. So Ike turned down the compromise.

New CIA Head: "Fire Allen Dulles and replace him with the ablest man we have for that intelligence job. I mean J. Edgar Hoover, of the FBI." Con-

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gressman Wint Smith, Republican from the grass roots of America, Kansas, gave HUMAN EVENTS this statement. His sentiments are echoed by many in Congress who have long been worried about the quality and policies of our Central Intelligence Agency; the handling of the recent U-2 spy episode reinforces this feeling that CIA isn't doing the job.

On all sides of Capitol Hill, the suggestion gets a warm welcome, for all are agreed that Hoover is not only popular and widely respected, but also the best qualified man for the job. Above all he has shown himself as the official who best understands the purpose and operations of the world-wide Communist conspiracy.

Furthermore, although J. Edgar is for the most part known for investigating crime and subversives within the US, he served his country well during World War II and some years thereafter by FBI work in Latin America. When General Hoyt Vandenberg took over the fledgling CIA in 1947 and sought to convert it into a vast new intelligence force, Hoover was squeezed out. Originally, after the war, Admiral Sidney Souers designed the CIA as a relatively small, but high level agency to evaluate reports from Naval and Army Intelligence and the FBI. The Vandenberg course changed all that.

Since J. Edgar Hoover pulled his forces out of Latin America, our battle against the Communists in that area has deteriorated. Allen Dulles, who had served well in Intelligence in World War II, apparently became the captive of a huge bureaucracy, much of which holds leftist and "liberal" concepts. If Hoover replaced him, he would have to do a big job of house-cleaning in CIA.

Summit—And Politics: Khrushchev's intrusion into the US Presidential race has triggered intense speculation in Washington. K suggested postponing any Summit until after next November, thereby indicating he would deal only with Ike's successor. Whom does K favor? Obviously, not Nixon, whom he continues to damn. Since the Soviet chief does not mention the Democratic hopefuls, he obviously leaves the inference that he prefers a Democrat, while he refrains from damning or praising any of that party's present hopefuls.

But one statement by Khrushchev in the middle of his Paris uproar, in answer to a question about his favorite for US President, rivets the attention of all:

"That is," said Khrushchev, "for the American people to decide. But there was one American with whom I could do business. There was one great American with whom I could honestly have negotiated. That was Roosevelt. But when he died, his policy died with him."

But Capital observers wonder if the Democratic appease-Russia policy (of which FDR was the original author) actually "died with him." Despite much oratory by Democratic leaders backing up Ike in his Paris plight, one full-dress official Democratic maneuver did not escape notice. At a moment, last Tuesday, when all Western Europe—outraged by Khrushchev's behavior—was lining up behind Ike and when, symbolic of this sentiment, a little French woman at Notre Dame cathedral pleaded with Ike to "stand firm," the Democratic leaders sent Ike a cablegram.

Signed by the top four (Johnson, Rayburn, Stevenson and Fulbright), the wire urged Ike to go to Khrushchev and convey the sentiment of the Democratic party that the Russian chief should "reconsider" postponing a Summit conference until after the US election. In short, the Democratic party officially called on Ike to further abase the position of the US, at a moment when Khrushchev was insisting on his humiliating ultimatum demands before he would grant a resumption of the Summit.

In Washington, this Democratic party maneuver is interpreted as an attempt to grab the "peace issue" for the upcoming campaign and to push appeasement of Soviet Russia.

Meanwhile, Nixon shows every sign of appropriating the anti-appeasement issue, of calling for "firmness" in the face of Russian provocation. Surveys of sentiment across the country suggest that the V-P, if he continues this line, will have the support of the vast majority of the country.

Washington pundits say the Summit smashup increased chances of the GOP nominating Nelson Rockefeller for President, but a majority of Republican state chairmen polled don't agree. Of 24 answering a UPI query, 13 counted Rocky out, five counted him in, and six straddled the issue.

Capitol Camera: In West Virginia Hubert Humphrey got off the following nifty, expressive of his despair: "Kennedy money is flowing as freely as water in West Virginia streams—and both are a little polluted."

• Trouble expected, as a result of the Summit debacle, in the Formosa Straits, Korea and Viet Nam—and maybe Turkey, Iran and Pakistan.

• **Khrushchev, literally booed and jeered out of Paris, took home one ominous warning from De Gaulle on which to reflect. According to Diplomatic Row in Washington, the French leader in a farewell meeting told K politely but flatly that, if the Communists blockaded Berlin, the French tank corps would smash through the blockade and keep the way clear for the West.**

• Not unnoticed by Southern leaders was Lyndon Johnson's refusal to stand at a recent Washington Democratic dinner when they played "Dixie."

• After Khrushchev's Summit tantrum last week Senator Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.) reminded the Senate he had opposed the Red leader's 1959 Ameri-

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can visit. "Unless we mend our ways," he said, "disaster will visit us. We should never approach the Summit like country bumpkins going to a country meeting . . . . I don't think [Khrushchev] ever intended for the President to visit the Soviet Union."

• Principal architect of the anti-American propaganda flowing from the British Government to the Fleet Street gutter press is believed to be Foreign Minister Selwyn Lloyd. The latter thinks Britain's present troubles date from the 1956 Suez crisis, the outcome of which he blames on the US.

• Recent comments by AFL-CIO general counsel Arthur Goldberg that labor would press directly with employers at the bargaining table for health measures if none passes Congress are seen as labor's way to badger business into supporting the Forand bill.

• FPC Commissioner William Connole, whom Ike has refused to reappoint next term, may not be the consumer champion Demos declare. Appearing before Congress he admitted to seeing so many gas industry men that Steven Derounian (R.-N.Y.) was prompted to say: "For a consumer man you have palled around and had friendly talks with an awful lot of gas producers and owners."

• *One reason Nixon's in trouble with the GOP right wing is the naming of Modern Republican Charles Percy of Illinois to head the convention's platform committee. This* faux pas *could be smoothed over if Senator Bridges were named Permanent Chairman. This would placate Congressman Joe Martin, still angry at Halleck and Nixon. Martin, for many years GOP convention Permanent Chairman, is a great admirer of Bridges.*

• While Khrushchev dumped the Summit supposedly because an American spy plane violated Soviet sovereignty, observers point out that K won't even let the West fly planes over its *own* territory. Reporters on Capitol Hill recall that K threatened and bullied the West into halting flights above 10,000 feet in the Berlin corridor earlier this year.

• Young conservatives across the nation have formed the Youth for Goldwater for Vice President organization, with headquarters at 30 N. LaSalle Street in Chicago, Illinois. More than 45 chapters have already been formed at various colleges and universities.

Education: The National Defense Education Act was sold to Congress on the idea that some students needed Federal aid because they couldn't afford an education and that more students needed training in the physical sciences to catch up with the Sputnik-making Soviets.

But now Senator Ralph Yarborough (D.-Texas) has introduced an amendment to the NDEA which will make it possible for fully paid teachers (not poverty-stricken students, mind you) to get funds under the Student Loan section of the NDEA so they can go to summer school and take courses ranging from Home Economics to Physical Education. So far no serious opposition has developed to the bill which Senator Yarborough says is backed by the National Education Association.

The original purpose of the NDEA, it seems, has all but been forgotten. And the Education lobbyists have found a back-door way to provide teachers with Federal funds, which may content them for a while if they can't lobby Federally-financed teacher salaries into the school construction bill in the House.

House Un-American Activities: Congressmen Gordon Scherer (R.-Ohio) and August Johansen (R.-Mich.) said last week that the so-called student demonstrations against the House Un-American Activities Committee in San Francisco were Communist directed.

> **"Hard core Communist functionaries," they said in a joint statement, "were in the crowd inciting it to break into the hearing room which was already filled to capacity."**

Scherer also scored Mayor George Christopher of San Francisco for surrendering "to Communist directed mob violence" when Christopher (who put out the Red carpet for Khrushchev last September) told the Committee not to meet in City Hall the next time it comes. Johansen camplained Christopher had "wanted to throw in the towel" at the height of the riots and had then suggested the Committee move to a Federal building.

Lobbying Equalizer: Of unpublicized importance to the American business community is a bill (H.R. 7123) awaiting action by the House Ways and Means Committee, introduced by Representative Hale Boggs (D.-La.), which would amend section 162 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 in regard to lobbying.

Under present law, expenditures related to business or the production of income are non-allowable as tax exemptions if for "lobbying purposes for the promotion or defeat of legislation or for political campaign purposes."

The amendment would allow businesses to lobby for or against legislation and enter costs incurred as proper tax deductions, provided expenditures are reasonable and necessary to the business.

Washington notes that laws geared to monitor labor union lobbying have been largely ineffectual, leaving businesses at a distinct disadvantage.

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The West Virginia Story

By HOWARD NORTON

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THE PROFESSIONAL politicians on the county level—it now turns out—were an important element in the victory of Senator Kennedy (D.-Mass.) in West Virginia's Presidential primary.

It was the pros who appear to have done more to get out the vote for Kennedy than all the last-minute flood of newspaper and radio-television advertising, all the speeches and handshakes and all the alleged whispered instructions from labor and Negro leaders.

It was also the activity of the pros that is credited with doing more to overcome this region's anti-Catholic prejudice than did the attractiveness and obvious intelligence of the candidate himself.

In short, the West Virginia primary may go down in history as the story of how the professional politicians of the counties did it. And here, in brief, is the story:

The West Virginia county politicians very frankly do not care much who wins in a Presidential primary. Their job is to keep their party in office in the county. And they survey the seekers after national office—including presidential hopefuls—with almost complete detachment.

In fact, the county pros are apt to regard out-of-state Presidential primary invaders chiefly as potential sources of revenue for the county campaign chests. This is true, particularly, when the party workers have no special fondness for the Presidential candidates who are entered in the primary, but prefer someone who is not entered.

This appears to have been the case in this year's primary; the politicians—and a lot of the people—were for Senator Johnson (D.-Texas), Adlai Stevenson and Senator Symington (D.-Mo.).

But they had to choose between Senator Humphrey (D.-Minn.) and Kennedy. And for practical purposes, they figured, it did not make much difference which one they voted and worked for, because the winner, under West Virginia Law, cannot demand their convention votes. But the pros also recognized that both Humphrey and Kennedy were in desperate need of their assistance.

It takes money to run an efficient political machine.

You have to hire cars to haul the voters to the polls on election day; you have to pay an army of campaign workers, pay printing bills, radio bills, advertising bills . . . . The local, county candidates chip in what they can, but it is never enough.

Long tradition in West Virginia has built up a system of filling the county campaign chests by almost openly "auctioning off" the support of the county machine to the highest bidder among the candidates for national office.

This is a completely honest procedure. The money does not go into any individual's pocket. It is not graft. It's put down as a county-level campaign contribution by the candidate for national office.

And, in appreciation of the contribution, the county machine throws its support to the successful bidder.

Once the bidding is completed, and the party leaders have accepted the highest ones, they print up on little slips of paper the official "slate" of candidates whom they urge the voters to accept. The slate, in most cases, starts at the top and runs right down through the lowest local office: president, senator, representative, governor, sheriff, etc.

For purposes of last-minute political bargaining, however, these "slates" generally are kept under wraps until the morning of election day. Then, when the organization's automobiles go out into the hills and start hauling the voters to the polls, copies of the official "slate" are pressed into the hands of the party faithful.

Only at this point does the average faithful member of the Democratic party in West Virginia suddenly come to know who he is going to vote for when he gets into the voting booth.

THIS MAY explain why the five biggest hardshell fundamentalist, conservative, Prostestant counties of West Virginia went so overwhelmingly for a liberal Catholic candidate for the Presidency. It explains, too, why newspaper men traveling through these counties and talking to the people got such a wrong idea of what they would do on election day.

The voters of southern West Virginia seemed honestly skeptical of Senator Kennedy and definitely leaned toward Humphrey, as almost all the newsmen reported.

But when these same voters found out—after getting into the cars to go to the polls—that the local party leaders who had helped them through the years to solve personal problems, were now urging them to vote for Kennedy, they did so, in overwhelming numbers.

The custom of "bidding" for the support of the county machines can be upsetting to the candidates.

Senator Humphrey, for example, came right up to election day convinced that he had won the bidding in big McDowell county. His political scouts informed him that everything was "absolutely safe" there. But only a matter of hours before the polls opened, word came that the McDowell county machine had switched to Kennedy.

And when the votes were counted, Humphrey's turncoat allies in Protestant McDowell county had given Kennedy 13,896 to Humphrey's 2,720—a ratio in Kennedy's favor of better than 5 to 1.

By the same system, Raleigh county, another "safe" Protestant area, gave Kennedy 10,141 votes to Humphrey's 5,242. Fayette county, where this correspondent saw loafers at the courthouse refuse to shake hands with Kennedy, gave him a 2-to-1 margin: 10,705 to 5,586 for Humphrey.

Mingo and Logan counties, where the party machine is somewhat less disciplined, still managed to deliver the required number of voters: Mingo 5,996 to Kennedy and 4,154 to Humphrey: and Logan, 8,360 to Kennedy and 6,494 to Humphrey.

Of course, the efficient work of the machines—well oiled with campaign contributions—was not the only factor of significance. The hesitancy of labor to get solidly behind Humphrey hurt him. The powerful Construction Trades Council of the Charleston area, for example, formally endorsed Humphrey only the day before the election, when it was too late to do him much good.

Conversely, the early and enthusiastic support Humphrey got from the West Virginia council of the teamsters union—7,000 strong—may have hurt him. His opponent made a lot of the fact that Humphrey was backed by the "corrupt Hoffa machine."

The apparent neutrality of John L. Lewis, high priest of West Virginia's 50,000 coal miners, also was a factor. There were no provable signs that the United Mine Workers Union gave its members any political instructions at all for the primary.

The fact that the average West Virginia voter did not like the choice he had to make, but preferred some other candidate, such as Johnson, Stevenson or Symington, may have weighed against Humphrey.

In a case of this kind, the voter may have taken to heart the advice drummed into him by Kennedy's advertisements and broadcasts—don't waste your vote on a man who isn't going anywhere.

Long after the campaign was under way, Humphrey was still being asked by local reporters in his press conferences, and on radio panel shows, whether he was really a "serious" candidate for the Presidency, or a "hatchet man" for someone else.

KENNEDY'S personal attractiveness—especially to the women—probably was a factor, too. He always went over big with the younger people. In fact, in Protestant southern West Virginia, where he seemed to have trouble gathering a crowd of adults to hear him, Kennedy spoke almost exclusively in high-school auditoriums to audiences of school children. They loved him.

There were no major differences between the two men on the so-called "issues." Both of them were for Federal economic aid to West Virginia, more free food for the jobless, more Federal contracts for West Virginia's factories and research to find new uses of coal to revive the State's dying coal industry.

So the "issues" certainly were not responsible for any appreciable swing in the voting.

Senator Kennedy, the overwhelming winner in the election, probably will not get more than three of West Virginia's delegates to the Democratic National Convention in Los Angeles, according to local politicians who usually know.

Senator Johnson, who made only one appearance in the State, on the Saturday before the election, and who is not even a declared candidate for the Presidency, is virtually certain to get 18 out of the 25 delegates on the first ballot.

Stevenson, who says he pales at the thought of running for the Presidency again, is going to get as many West Virginia delegates as Kennedy—three.

And even Symington, who has not been anywhere near the State, is due to get one delegate vote.

Senator Humphrey, who campaigned so tirelessly for so many weeks, won't get any at all.

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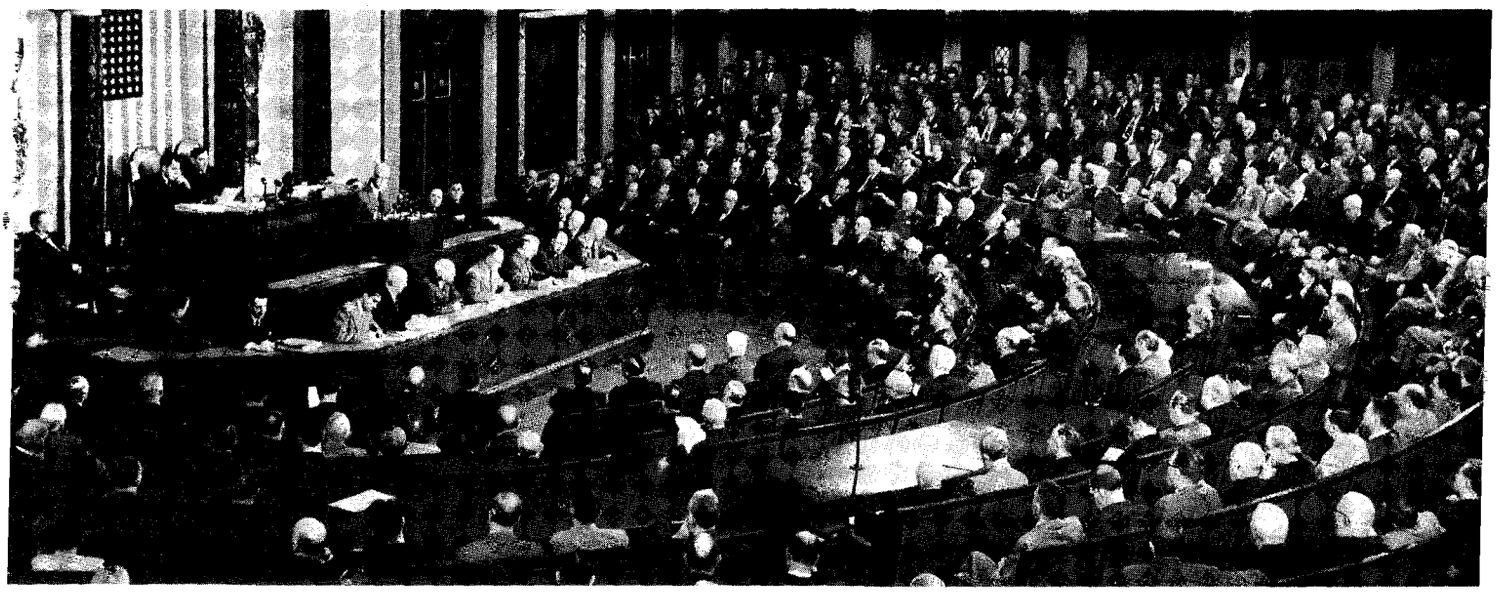

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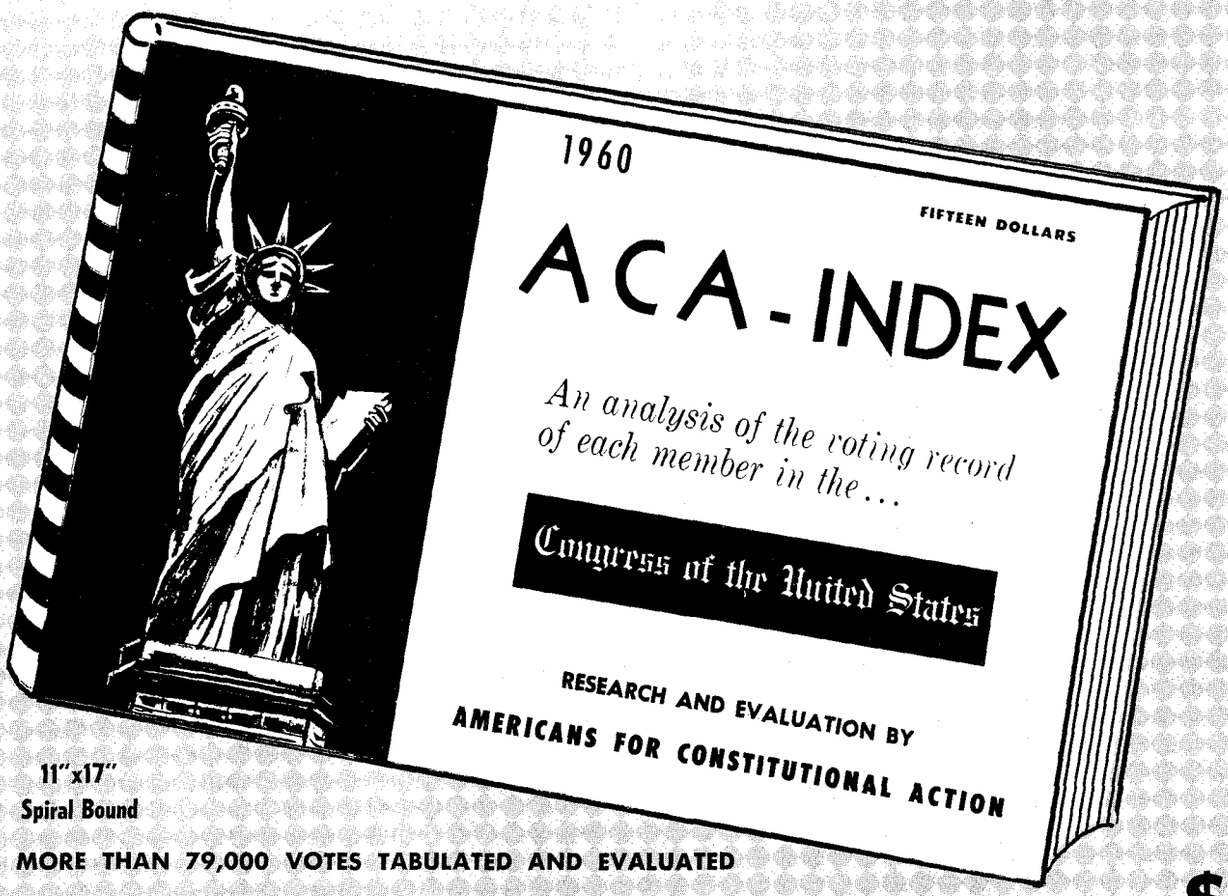
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HUMAN EVENTS

May 26. 1960

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The ACA-Index: How To Trap A Demagog

By JOHN J. SYNON

NOTHING, unless it is a sloe-eyed woman, can be as deceptive as a practicing demagog. A person just never knows, with certainty, whether any given one of them is coming or going, not really.

True, if a person had the time and the facilities needed, he could lay 40 miles of litmus paper along the trail between promise and performance and then sit back and wait. This would tell him all he wanted to know. For, soon or late, every one of those who have won your favor must come hippity hopping down that path, like the White Rabbit bound for tea at the public trough. Set so, your litmus would pick up a million impressions.

Even then, if yours is an inexperienced eye, the result would look like nothing so much as the floor of a hen house after a rain. But to a determined expert with a fine set of magnifying glasses and a political slide rule for very rapid calculations, the maze could be unravelled. And from that you could learn every little cadence in the congressional trot; if you had the time and the facilities needed.

Which is how to catch a demagog.

The technique isn't new. It has been used before, in one degree or another, else think what Congress would be like today. But never for every living member of Congress, all at the same time. There never has been developed a clear record to trace their votes, then totalled and evaluated for a clear, concise, ideological view of the political character of each.

Now there is. Americans for Constitutional Action, a non-partisan, constitutional-conservative organization, has just released through HUMAN EVENTS what it calls the ACA-Index. This 11" x 17" book contains 122 pages of detailed analysis and evaluation of the voting record of each member of the Senate and the House.

If you want to know where your boy in Congress has been, what sort of didos he has been cutting, his votes and their meaning are there in the ACA-Index, every vote of record on issues pitting liberty vs. collectivism. On the other hand, you may have the satisfaction of discovering that the Senator or Representative you helped send to Washington has voted far more consistently for economy and constitutional government than you had noted in the public prints.

To Our Readers:

Every member of Congress is up against voting-bloc pressures and demands so intense that I sometimes wonder how many stand up against them.

You should, most emphatically, give special honor to those members of Congress who have earned an ACA-Index rating of 80 per cent or better. But after 20 years of close observation of Congress, I suggest there are a few members with voting records a little below the 80 per cent mark who, nevertheless, deserve your support. Unless you help, they will be defeated by the Reuther-controlled candidates, whose voting records would descend to the Humphrey-Morse-Kefauver-Johnson-Kennedy-Symington 0-to-11 per cent range.

Frank C. Hanighen

Editor and Publisher of HUMAN EVENTS

The book has been described as monumental, and it is that, all right. It takes the Senate back through 1955, through the 84th, 85th and the first session of the 86th Congresses and it catalogues the House back through 1957. ACA felt, and with what appears to be good reason, to go beyond these years would destroy the pertinence of the effort. Just a few years make a great difference in membership, congressional turnover being what it is.

THE BASIC POWER of the book lies in its disclosure of the impact each vote has had on the fundamental principles of traditional American government; how our liberty is being chipped away It doesn't talk of "Agriculture," as such, nor of "Labor," though bills on these as other subjects are extensively covered in the research.

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Instead, the ACA-Index shows the *effect* such votes have had on the principles involved—what, by its votes, Congress has done to our government and, thus, to our liberty.

No person, however knowledgeable, can study the ACA-Index without marked reaction. For the facts disclosed are not only incontrovertible, in too many instances they are startling and quite at variance with the "public image" assidiously cultivated by many who sit on the Hill in Washington.

Perhaps the most interesting example of the Jekyll-Hyde nature manifested by some of our national legislators is that of Lyndon Johnson, Senior Senator from Texas, Majority Leader of the United States Senate and Political Fixer Nonpareil.

This many-faceted politician now aspires to the Democratic nomination for President; "compromise" choice, he would be. Fact is, Lyndon Johnson is among the most radical members of the Senate and the ACA-Index proves it.

To dissect the political character of LBJ, as he hopes you will call him, Americans for Constitutional Action broke him into pieces. They checked his record since 1955, to see what *effect* his votes had on:

(1) Sound Money,

(2) Economy in Government,

(3) Private-competitive Enterprise vs. Government Interference,

(4) Local Self-Government,

(5) Private Ownership of Property vs. Government Ownership,

(6) Individual Liberty vs. Coercion and

(7) National Security.

When the catechism was over, ACA evaluated the consistency with which Lyndon Johnson adheres to constitutional principles and learned, during the past five years, he has done so but 10 per cent of the time. EVEN LOWER THAN KENNEDY, WHO POLLED 11 PER CENT.

By the same yardstick, Symington rated four per cent. The ebullient Hubert Horatio Humphrey, to nobody's particular surprise, scored one per cent. Wayne Morse rated five per cent.

Such, by the record, is the bevy of political White Rabbits the Democrats offer as America's next President.

THE ACA-INDEX is no cursory once over. It is, as the advertising men say, a deep-down analysis of the political character of each member of Congress, a profile in depth. To get the story, ACA worked for a year, sifting, in total, nearly 90,000 individual votes.

That the study merits the keen appraisal of every person interested in the political well being of his country is best seen, probably, in the calibre of men who make up ACA's Board of Trustees.

The group is chaired by the redoubtable Admiral Ben Moreell, famed founder of the wartime Sea Bees.

Others on the board are: Herbert Hoover, 31st President of the United States; Hon. Charles Edison, two-term Democratic governor of New Jersey; three former members of Congress: Hon. Ralph W. Gwinn, Ed Gossett and Howard Buffett; Gen. Robert W. Johnson, board chairman, Johnson & Johnson; Allan B. Kline, past president of the American Farm Bureau Federation; Felix Morley, Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist; Philip M. McKenna, Pennsylvania industrialist; Mrs. R. Templeton Smith, president, Allegheny County League of Women Voters; Loyd Wright, past president, American Bar Association; Edgar N. Eisenhower, attorney; Gen. Bonner Fellers and Dr. Walter B. Martin, past president, American Medical Association.

The ACA-Index was designed to present the facts to the voters so they might make up their own minds. If the voters want paper press money, the Index shows who will give it to them and who won't. It is as coldly incisive as a bosun's pipe. It is not weighted, one way or the other. Nevertheless, it is the work of a conservative group and what conservatives may like, liberals may be expected to dislike. But no favoritism is shown; the same criteria that took apart Lyndon Johnson are applied to every other member of Congress and just as thoroughly. So for those of liberal persuasion, the ACA-Index may be turned upside down and read backwards.

NOT THE LEAST interesting feature of the book is the clarity with which it spells the difference between parties, something not one Republican (or Democrat) in a hundred seems able to do.

Consider this: Of the 277 Democrats in the House, exactly 200 of them voted less than 30 per cent of the time for the constitutional principles

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encompassed by the ACA-Index criteria. Not one Republican falls in this category. In point of fact, a person must go down the list past 108 Republicans before he reaches the best Democrat. Of these Republican Representatives, 13 earned a 100 per cent rating. Phenomenal, when a person considers the currycombing their voting records received at the hands of ACA.

Of these 13, three come from California (Hiestand, Smith and Lipscomb); one comes from Illinois (Hoffman); one from Minnesota (Nelsen); three from New York (Pirnie, Robison and Goodell); three from Ohio (Scherer, Devine and Minshall); and one from Pennsylvania (Lafore). There is one lone Southerner, Alger of Texas.

There are no 100-per-cent Senators, though ACA gives Williams of Delaware an astronomical 99 per cent rating. There follows, Goldwater (Ariz.) at 98 per cent; Butler (Md.) and Hruska (Neb.) tied at 93 per cent; Virginia's Byrd tied with Bridges (N.H.) at 92 per cent; and Curtis (Neb.), 91 per cent.

As with the top-ranked members of the House, but one Senator comes from the Solid South.

For all its depth and perception, there are one or two answers a person can't glean from the ACA-Index. For instance, it gives no clue—nor should it, of course—to the reasoning of North Dakota's electorate in its choice of Congressmen.

North Dakota has two Representatives in the House, both elected "at large." Each represents every person in North Dakota, exactly as do its Senators. Their names are Short and Burdick.

How to explain, then, the reasoning of North Dakotans in electing one Congressman (Short) who rates 95 per cent on the ACA-Index and another (Burdick) who scores five per cent.

What this situation seems to indicate is the need for just the sort of political litmus paper the ACA-Index provides, justification enough for the interminable hours ACA spent in determining these differences. Certainly, with the same people voting —as in North Dakota—an informed electorate might not logically be expected to have as Representatives such diverse people. Yet, there they are.

And while the case of North Dakota is distinctive, it is not unique. South Carolina's Senators, as another instance, show great difference in ideology. Olin Johnston rates 29 per cent while Strom Thurmond, on the other hand, posts a highly-respectable 78 per cent. Same people voting, extremely different men elected. But who, until now, has been prepared to prove this difference?

These are not isolated cases. The same sort of senatorial situation exists in Maine (Smith 51, Muskie 12); Massachusetts (Saltonstall 69, Kennedy 11); New York (Keating 72, Javits 33); Ohio (Lausche 81, Young 13); Pennsylvania (Scott 57, Clark 4); Utah (Bennett 84, Moss 4); and Arizona (Goldwater 98, Hayden 16).

To develop the criteria ACA used, it took as its base the Constitution of the United States, with its ideal of limited government, moral law, and marketplace economic principles. From these there arose the mentioned criteria; each on all fours with the intent of the Constitution.

Against these criteria, ACA measured each member of Congress. As is indicated, a heartening number show remarkably well against this traditional understanding of the American form of government.

On the other hand, others prove themselves—according to the lights of ACA—totally opposed to it. And this is literally so. As unbelievable as it may read, there are 20 members of the House of Representatives, back through 1957, and three members of the Senate, back through 1955, who have never cast what ACA considers a "plus" (i.e., good) vote. Incidentally, every last one of them is a Democrat.

Those in the House who earned zero, according to the ACA-Index, are Clem Miller, Johnson and Kasem of California (Jimmy Roosevelt rates five per cent); Bowles of Connecticut; Dawson, Rostenkowski, Shipley and Price of Illinois; Brademas, Wampler and Hogan of Indiana; Hargis of Kansas; Oliver of Maine; McCormack of Massachusetts (think of that); Karth of Minnesota; Randall and Carnahan of Missouri; Buckley of New York; and Prokop and Moorehead of Pennsylvania.

It is worthy of passing notice that Representative Chester "Zero" Bowles, along with Eleanor Roosevelt and Paul Butler, will be running the Democratic show—at Walter Reuther's direction—when it meets in Los Angeles, this July. The tenor of this triumvirate indicates happy days will soon be here again.

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On the Senate side, there are three ciphers—again, all Democrats. McGee of Wyoming, of course, and the twins from Michigan, Senators Hart and McNamara.

Which—in the case of the latter two—may be more than coincidental. For McNamara and Hart, it will be remembered, represent the only state in recent years to verge on bankruptcy: Michigan—Reuther's duchy.

That every member of Congress the ACA-Index rates at zero is a Democrat and every member rated 100 per cent is Republican is evidence enough of the ideological difference in parties.

There are a number of other interesting facts that jump out at you from the ACA-Index. One is the consistently modest rating of most Southern Democrats and the consistently high rating of those few Southern Republicans who have managed to break through the emotional curtain that confines the South to the Democratic party.

Virginia—by far the "best" of the Southern states—is worthy of special mention. Nationwide, there are but three Democratic Senators who score above 80 per cent. Two of these, H. F. Byrd (92) and Willis Robertson (81), come from the Old Dominion. The third, Frank Lausche (81), comes from Ohio.

Of the top 10 Democrats on the ACA-Index House of Representatives listing, five are Virginians. However, the highest rated of all Democratic Congressmen scores but 78 per cent.

Where the Virginia Democrats—as Southern Democrats generally—fall down, the ACA-Index discloses, is on the give-away business—federal handouts. The record shows it makes little difference to them what other implications a measure may carry (Private Ownership of Property, for instance, or the Rights of the Individual), so long as the bill incorporates a federal handout of one sort or another, most Southern Congressmen forget States Rights and go for the pork. If it were not for this penchant of theirs, "something for nothing," Southern Democrats in Congress would actually be the staunch conservatives they are thought to be.

As might be expected, Tennessee's Estes Kefauver and Ralph Yarborough of Texas earned the lowest rating accorded Southern Senators, six per cent.

Americans for Constitutional Action makes no claim for its publication other than its worth as an evaluation of the voting record of each incumbent and this from a constitutional-conservative point of view. As such, indisputably, it is the most far-reaching work of its kind ever put between covers. As a reference work or as a purveyor of information vital to those interested in political campaigns, there is nothing to approach it in value. And this is as true for those of one ideological bent as for the other. It is a book of evaluated facts. It is truly unique.

ACA has made no effort to reflect a legislator's committee work, nor his general leadership. To do so, ACA indicates, would impose a judgment based on opinion only and this it has sought to avoid.

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Why The US Is Ineffective Abroad

A Chinese Language Expert Is Wasted In London

When a House Appropriations subcommittee held hearings on the Department of State's budget requests for the fiscal year 1961, Chairman John J. Rooney (D.-N.Y.) questioned Deputy Assistant Secretary for Personnel Aaron S. Brown about assignments of State Department language specialists trained by the Foreign Service Institute. The following conversation took place:

Mr. Rooney . . . I find a gentleman here, an FSO-6. He got an A in Chinese and you assigned him to London.

Mr. Brown. Yes sir. That officer will have opportunities in London—not as many as he would have in Hong Kong, for example—

Mr. Rooney. What will he do? Spend his time in Chinatown?

Mr. Brown. No, sir. There will be opportunities in dealing with officers in the British Foreign Office who are concerned with Far Eastern Affairs. The British have foreign language specialists as well as we do.

Mr. Rooney. So instead of speaking English to one another, they will sit in the London Office and talk Chinese?

Mr. Brown. Yes, sir.

Mr. Rooney. Is that not fantastic?

Mr. Brown. No, sir. They are anxious to keep up their practice.

Mr. Rooney. Are they playing games or is this serious business?

Mr. Brown. This is serious business.

Mr. Rooney. Can you describe to me how this would happen? This officer, who is an FSO-6, probably would not be on too important a mission to the British Foreign Office, would he?

Mr. Brown. That is correct.

Mr. Rooney. But he has a counterpart in the British Foreign Office who also is studying Chinese and they sit down and they talk Chinese together; is that right?

Mr. Brown. Yes.

Mr. Rooney. They go out to Chinese Restaurants and have chop suey together?

Mr. Brown. Yes, sir.

Mr. Rooney. And that is all at the expense of the American taxpayer?

Mr. Brown. He is there primarily to do a job, Mr. Chairman, and the Chinese language training—

Mr. Rooney This man's natural language is English, is it not? I so judge from his name.

Mr. Brown. Yes; but he has reached the Chinese specialist stage, which is very high.

Mr. Rooney. Do you have so many Chinese specialists you do not send them where they will speak the Chinese language?

Mr. Brown. There are relatively few opportunities to speak Chinese compared to what the needs may at some time be.

Mr. Rooney. Here is a gentleman on the following page, an FSO-7, who was taught Hindi. I take it that was at considerable expense to the American taxpayer. After completing the course he resigned.

Mr. Brown. Yes, sir. Sometimes officers do decide to resign. He reached only the basic level and perhaps he did not complete the course. He did have some training.

Mr. Rooney. You would not know how much you spent on him?

We find for instance where you assigned an FSO-4—this is on page 10— who completed a course in French to Copenhagen. Right?

Mr. Brown. Yes, sir, that is correct. He was serving at Copenhagen and he went to the French language teaching facility at Paris.

Mr. Rooney. Will he go to the Danish Foreign Office and get somebody there who speaks French so they will be able to sit down together and transact their business in French?

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MR. BROWN. No, he would not.. This assignment was made under our old policy, Mr. Chairman.

MR. ROONEY. This next gentleman, an FSO-3, took a course in French and was assigned to Salzburg, Austria?

MR. BROWN. Yes.

MR. ROONEY. And that particular gentleman is now in Tel Aviv, is he not?

MR. BROWN. Yes, sir.

MR. ROONEY. Here is another gentleman, an FSO-7, who took French and is assigned to Valletta. What is the language in Valletta? English is it not?

MR. BROWN. English mostly, and some Maltese.

MR. ROONEY. He could not use French in trying to counteract Maltese, could he?

MR. BROWN. No, sir.

MR. ROONEY. Here is a gentleman on page 9, an FSO-6. He took a course in German and you assigned him to Dublin, Ireland. Is that right?

MR. BROWN. Yes, sir, that is correct.

MR. ROONEY. And another graduate of the school in Frankfurt, the German school, an FSO-7, you assigned to Ankara, Turkey.

And you assigned another FSO-4 to London, and another FSO-6 to Cardiff, Wales. Correct?

MR. BROWN. That is correct, sir.

MR. ROONEY. What will these gentlemen do to keep up their German? This one you assigned to London after taking German, will he seek some gentleman in the British Foreign Service who speaks German so that they can sit together and do their business in German?

MR. BROWN. I would hope he would, sir, in order to keep up with his proficiency the best he could.

MR. ROONEY. Are you serious about that, an Englishman and an American and they sit down and talk in German on British-American Government business?

MR. BROWN. Possibly, yes, sir.

MR. ROONEY. This is fantastic.

MR. BROWN. It is not too difficult to keep up proficiency in German and in French, and with respect to those languages they probably would not.

MR. ROONEY. Then you had an FSO-8—this is at page 8—who went to that school on the Riviera at Nice and he is now at Palermo, Sicily.

MR. BROWN. That is correct.

MR. ROONEY. And there any number of other and similar examples through here. Is that right?

MR. BROWN. Yes, sir, that is right.

MR. ROONEY. For instance, here you have a fellow who took German here in Washington and then assigned him to Niagara Falls. Will he seek out someone in a Canadian Office at Niagara Falls and brush up on his German?

MR. BROWN. He would not have much opportunity in that way to brush up on his German, Mr. Chairman.

MR. ROONEY. Here is a gentleman, an FSO-8, at page 2, who studied French. You sent him to Hong Kong instead of that first fellow. Of course they are different grades, are they not?

MR. BROWN. Yes. The other was an FSO-6.

MR. ROONEY. In looking at this, Mr. Crockett, [William J. Crockett, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Budget and Finance], since this is not in Mr. Brown's area, I do not find where Dr. Hoskins [Harold B. Hoskins, Director of the Foreign Service Institute] and his faculty flunked anybody. Do you find anybody through these sheets that got an F or an E? I see an E but I do not see an F.

MR. CROCKETT. Perhaps E is the lowest, Mr. Chairman. I do not know.

MR. ROONEY. There is a summary on page 1. No flunks. That is the most amazing school I ever heard of.

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